1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28



x796
x539

17. Over all the high mountains
An old buck runs.
There I stand and watch,
Dizzily, here and there,
He leaps.(12)

*Deer effigy*

x796
622

During the whole performance the clowns circulated among the spectators and dodged in and out through the processions. At the festival of 1932 there were thirty such clowns. They wore the usual dress, consisting of a white cotton sheet, belted at the waist, with a huge bunched headdress of turkey plumes. They ran about, begging for food by signs and squeaks, several relatives of each clown following him to carry the donations. A few clowns always acted as policemen to keep intruders off the dance ground. At noon the procession ceased, while the effigybearers ate, and then the clowns gave a performance. They constructed a little ceremonial house by piling up jars, pretended to dance, to make liquor, and to get drunk. They gave an imitation of planting, harvesting, and looking for rain. When not engaged in some other special performance, they danced about in front of the ceremonial enclosure.

x796
753
622

The clown is considered to have healing powers. In old days, at the prayer-stick festival, sick people sat in a row and begged him to come and cleanse them. On being given a handful of corn meal, he would put down his bow and make a clownish search for the white feathers which he kept hidden. With these he brushed away the sickness, or if he carried a cactus stick he might use that, breathing on the patient at the same time. Anyone who merely wanted safety and good fortune could ask for the same procedure.

x796
763

Many illnesses were thought to result from the breaking of some taboo at the prayer-stick festival. Since the infringement might be slight, one was often not aware of what had happened till many years afterward. When the shaman finally diagnosed the case, either the clown must be called, or a miniature festival with singing must be held. One informant, when a young girl, tripped when she was carrying some paraphernalia in her carrying basket

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28



796 The series of processions, with their two singers and four songs, was varied four times during the day. At dawn the procession came without singing, carrying out the banners of Sun and Moon. In the afternoon, similarly, they "brought out the clouds," a square banner with the conventional cloud representation. If rain had not put a stop to the proceedings, a tall pole was to have been brought out tipped with feathers to draw down rain and ultimately a bowl of food to bring plenty.

796 622 Toward the middle of the afternoon, when the cloud procession was in full swing, two clowns appeared. They wore no special costume but the white deerskin mask described for the other performers, and each carried a bow and arrow. They dog-trotted up to the bundle shelter and addressed the keeper of the smoke.

"We are Nánavitcu (plural for Navitcu), we are going hunting."
The keeper replied:
"Go on. There's good country over there."
"We are going to kill you some rats."
"That's good."

They dog-trotted about the plaza and went through a performance of looking for tracks, hiding behind bushes, and shooting the rats, all the time talking to each other in squeaky voices. The spectators enjoyed it immensely. Then they imitated drinking from a spring, trying to duck each other and give each other a bath. Informants said that the clown performance differs every year, according to what the men think up. There are sometimes more than two clowns, but news had gone around that this ceremony would be very poor because only two could be found.

796 262 The feast ground was surrounded during the whole day with families who camped there, bringing their food. The volunteer performers were not subject to dietetic restrictions like the scraping-stick musicians and the corn-meal sprinklers. They might eat anything they pleased if it did not contain salt. The tradition is that the women of Quitovaca should bring large quantities of saltless food to the feast ground so that the visitors might eat. If anyone choked or bit on a piece of grit while eating, he must go to the scraping-stick musicians and let them sing over him to cure him.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28



Yonder up Baboquiviri he climbs,
Trying to look for her.(20)

One comic song is included, dreamed by a modern shaman, who uses it in curing.

28. Tucson!
A wretched place.
Thither I went
And saw all the girls.
It made me dizzy to see [the things]
Stuck up on their heads [hats].(16)

After four songs had been sung in this manner, the shaman "cleansed" the patient by touching him with the eagle feathers from the head to the feet, thus dusting off the evil. Each shaman had special mannerisms in the handling of the eagle feathers, some shaking them direct at the patient, some waving them in the air before the cleansing. Doctors were famous on the reservation for these peculiarities.

After the cleansing, the shaman smoked. He might bring his own tobacco, or it might be supplied by the family. Some shamans blew smoke over the patient as is done in the surrounding areas. If he had a visible crystal, he then placed it on the ground before him. It cast a ray of light on the patient's body, showing the seat of disease or the presence of an intrusive object. The ray might not strike clearly for some time, and meantime the shaman fortified himself by singing and smoking. If enlightenment was slow in coming, he might go outside, hoping to fall into a trance and induce another vision. Such a trance is mentioned in the following song.

29. On the desert, far off I lay;
On the desert, far off I lay.
In the deep night, there I learned.
Truly I shall turn into a bull.
Even now I learned it.(20)

At midnight the family of the patient provided food. By this time diagnosis was close, unless the case was very obstinate. The

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28



## MODERN SONG CYCLE

There are still many song dreamers, young as well as old. Many songs consist merely of variations on the standard poetic phrases, but a few deal with the entirely new background introduced by the whites. One composer has a modern guardian spirit, the devil. This visitant, as has been mentioned, cures diseases due to those white man's importations, the horse and the cow. He has also, in nightly wanderings, sung to his protégé songs concerning railroads and telegraph wires.

In some of these the words are placed with excellent onomato-poetic effect. The custom of using extra vocables is a great opportunity for the introduction of appropriate sounds, and this has been done in line three, where the regular bumping of a train over the rails is imitated. In the last line the syllable *amo* has been added to two words as the train disappears trailing smoke. The humor may need explanation. That anything so sacred as a cloud hangs over the iron wagon makes it seem, at first, divine. Then the error is dissipated.

*THE APPROACHING TRAIN*

17. The iron wagon hither runs.
The iron wagon hither runs.
Over it a cloud is lying.
Oh! It's only the smoke.(12)

*RAILS*

18. Yonder far I ran,
Walked and ran.
Iron stretched out.
Then I beside it ran.
Nowhere did it end.
It stretched out.(12)

In this song the diphthong *au*, in the words meaning "to stretch," is lengthened and emphasized with realistic stretching effect.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28



616 blew tobacco smoke over him. These smokers held in their mouths a
[324] different herb according to the moiety of the man to be purified: a sweet grass for the Coyote moiety and *yerba mansa* for the Buzzard. At the corn dance, which is now only a tradition, Coyote people painted their bodies with white splashes, Buzzard people with red.

Moiety influenced a man's choice of guardian spirit and his dreaming of songs. A Coyote man would be very likely to dream of Coyote, though other animals would be possible. He would never dream of Buzzard, who helps his own "partners".

The Coyote moiety is numerically in the majority as may be noticed in the list of informants. In fact it was difficult to find enough Buzzards to be sure their side of the story would be heard. In songs and chants the expression "our partner" is taken to refer to Coyote without further description, while Buzzard rarely appears.

However, every one is still aware of his moiety (with the exception
[522] of one clan to be mentioned below). People use the knowledge principally to taunt one another in joke. This may be done privately but is also much in use at festivals, where it seems to be semi-ceremonial.

"Two women, a Buzzard and a Coyote, came to a pond where a coyote had been drinking. 'Oh, how bad it smells!' said the Buzzard woman. 'That is your partner.' 'Your's smells worse,' said the Coyote woman." (22)

"The Buzzard people, seeing a buzzard in the air, will say: 'Our partner is always dancing.' Coyotes reply: 'He has to stay up there. He smells bad.'" (22)

"'Your partner steals,' say the Buzzards. 'Well, yours eats dead things' the Coyotes reply." (22)

A Coyote man would never kill a coyote. If the animal pilfered
[224] from his garden, he would simply submit. "We can't chase away our partner." In killing a deer he would leave the entrails and perhaps a piece of meat hanging on a tree, saying: "Here, partner. This is your share." A village called "Coyote Lives There" once contained a tame coyote, which informants think must have been kept by a member of the Coyote moiety. "It would not stay for a Buzzard." There are fewer stories about the treatment of Buzzard, whose cult seems to have lapsed.

## Sibs

614 Five patrilineal sibs are known, with a legendary sixth and seventh. They are:

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28



One-on-top-of-another (a man bought two shawls and wore them home thus) 551

Begging for yucca fruit (from an incident at camp)

Self-explanatory names are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Looking Back | Gambler |
| Having No Pet | One Who Never Plants |
| Back to the Fire | Girl Follower |
| Many Garments | One Who Lies Down Curled Up |
| Garment Falling Off | Dizzy One |
| Blisters | Bed Wetter |
| Fish Smell Mouth | Girl Beckoner |
| Ridge Face | Rat Ear |
| Neck Tendons | Yellow Legs |
| Gourd Head | |

2. Sexual names. These were given in obscene jest by a woman or by the berdache and referred to the sexual parts, not of the person named but of the speaker. A divorced wife, on parting from a man, often labelled him with such a name. It was also given by one with whom he had had a sex relationship, often also in jeering invitation. The name was made public by the giver, who shouted it after the man when others could hear. The recipient of the name, far from feeling embarrassment, regarded it as a proof of prowess. He accepted it and was regularly called by it, even by his wife and family. 551 522 ● 431

Some names are: Vulva-with-hair-growing-downward, Big Vulva, Skirt String, Long Anus.

3. Enemy names. It was customary, when a dead enemy was left on the field or near the village after a raid, for all who could to gather round the body and shout comments, without touching it. Such comments constituted nicknames for the shouters. 551

Some names mentioned are: Wild Cat's Back (because an Apache's back was spotted [with paint?]), Long Bones, Full of Dirt, Yellow Face, Gold Breasts (the last of a girl).

This would seem an excellent opportunity to acquire a striking name but in at least one instance the calendar stick reports that a party of men heard there were some dead Apaches nearby but did not go there "because they were afraid of what the people would call them".

The use of a man's descriptive nickname persisted along with his sexual or enemy name so that an individual often had several appellations. Though the derogatory descriptive names were accepted and answered to without objection, many tried to get them changed to something which suited their personal taste. No man

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28



smile. When one is angry, his face simply becomes expressionless. The writer has heard of Papagos who attacked one another in anger but in a fairly long experience has seen no demonstration of the emotion except for people to walk away muttering, or sit, head down in silence. Laughter is constant, but it expresses good nature rather than amusement. Humor being so tied to time and place as it is, the writer found difficulty in grasping Papago jokes, but she noted a large number which turned on tricks of pronunciation. Endless amusement was derived by ridiculing the dialect of another group and many of the Coyote stories would have been pointless were it not for the speech of Coyote himself who always talks tongue-tied. There were the usual number of obscene tales, told in any group and before any relative. And there was always huge enjoyment in applying a name to anyone, even such simple names as Broken Basket or He Fell in the River.

Public behavior is very restrained. People do not touch one another or show affection except to children. There are no small words of courtesy. Instead of greeting, one stands smiling at the door of a house, waiting to be invited in. As a farewell, one says: "I am going" and receives the permission: "Go then." "Thank you" and "forgive me," are considered futile substitutes for deeds which should show the speaker's attitude. In the rare cases when blame is voiced by a father or some qualified person, there is no positive word which can be used. He must say, "it is not good," or, "not like people," *i. e.*, not polite.

Praise also is rarely used. The individual, feeling himself a necessary part of the group, does not need the constant flattery which comforts the lonely fighter in a different form of society. Papagos are so unused to this version of politeness that the lightly spoken compliments of Whites disconcert them. They consider the speaker to be either grovelling or making an important communication.

But while avoiding the extremes of blame or praise, communication proceeds with great etiquette so as not to hurt any one's feelings. The writer, having asked the interpreter to make the proper approach to a new subject, was always impressed by the almost courtly care with which polite openings were sought and cautiously followed up. One may ascribe some of the courtliness to Spanish influence but a wholesale adoption of Spanish manners would involve flattery also.

Motions and thinking are in slow tempo. Much of this can be credited to the heat, but it is to be remembered that the Papago, like many Indians, have a slower heartbeat than Whites. Their calm

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28



dark but there are white lines in the east. Those are the white hairs of Elder Brother who made us. He put them there so we can know when day is coming and we can go out to look for food.

We crawled out the little door. I remember that door so well. I always crawled out of doors till long after I was a married woman and we stopped being afraid of enemies. Then we made houses with white men's doors. But this one was little and when we came out we could see the houses of my relatives nearby among the cactus, and the girls coming out of them, too, to get water.

Those girls had nothing on above the waist. We did not wear clothes then. They had strips of hand woven cloth in front and behind, tied around their waists with a string, for we did not know how to sew them together. Only deerskins the men knew how to sew, but our people had traded this cloth from Mexico and we thought we were very fine. And with good red paint above the waist, it *was* fine. And warm too. But the girls did not put on their paint in the early cold morning. Then they had to work.

There was no water at Mesquite Root; no water at all except what fell from the clouds, and I am telling about the month of Pleasant Cold when the rains were long over. Then our pond had dried up. If we wanted to stay in our houses, the girls had to run for water far, far up the hills and across the flat land to a place called Where the Water Whirls Around. That was a low flat place, a good place for corn, and the water ran down to it from all the hills. A big water hole was there full of red mud. Oh yes, our water was always red. It made the corn gruel red. I liked that earth taste in my food. Yes, I liked it.

The girls used to crawl laughing out of the houses, with their long black hair hanging to their waists, and they would pick up their carrying nets. Fine nets we used to have in those days, all dyed with red and blue. Shaped like a cone they were, with tall red sticks to keep them in shape. When the net was on a girl's back those red sticks would stand up on either side of her face. We used to think a pretty young girl looked best that way. That was how the men liked to see her.

I was too little to have a net than, or even clothes. But I used to help my cousins put the jars in their nets and to put little sticks between them so they would not break. The boys would stand laughing around and if there was one who was not a relative the girls would joke with him. They would throw gravel at him and run away, and once a girl said to one of my cousins: "Give me that male thing you have and I will put it between my water jars instead of a stick." So we called that man Between-the-Jars. Yes, that is how we joked in the old days.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

## PEOPLE ON THE DESERT

Like many other Indians, the Papago are a young people. About 40 per cent of those living on the three reservations in 1942 were under eighteen years of age. The average age of males was twenty-three years and of females twenty-one.[3] 162

Costumes are not so colorful as those of some Arizona and New Mexico tribes such as the Navaho. Most of the older women wear the ankle-length Mother Hubbard cotton dress with loose blouse used by many older Indian and Mexican women in the Southwest and in Sonora. With this they wear a shawl or *rebozo* usually wrapped tightly around the head with an end hanging down the back, rather than loosely draped and allowed to fall over the shoulders. Younger women and girls wear cotton or rayon dresses in contemporary American style. Fiesta dresses are more colorful, and one occasionally sees the brilliant rayons which added splashes of color to gatherings in former years. Males from the age of one to one hundred wear denim or khaki pants with shirts of cotton for work and bright rayon for festive occasions, kerchiefs about the neck, with brimmed felt hats, and cowboy boots if they can possibly afford them. Some of the educated men have American-style "business suits" for trips off the Reservation. Good clothes, particularly shoes, are bought when there is cash on hand, and a man may spend considerable sums on hats and boots. Even in the conservative western districts of the Reservation, the people buy American clothing, often quite "fancy," for the children and young people. Papago believe clothing should be neat, clean, and modest but not necessarily sober; they all want to "look nice" before other people. 291 177

Typically the Papago move with a slow dignity and grace, and only in near-emergency situations does the word "hurry" have any meaning for them. A rider who runs his horse when he is not roping or running cattle is almost certain to elicit the comment, "Oh, he's drunk." 157 516

From early childhood the Papago is taught to be quiet, self-contained, and not to become angry. A reserved person whose equanimity is difficult to shake, he expresses opposition or resentment quietly, for he believes in discussion without argument and angry words. He does not ask direct questions or make statements directly; a question is asked through a circumlocution, and answers are given in the same manner. To white people it sometimes sounds like speech in parables, but to a Papago the meaning is perfectly clear. The curiosity of white people often causes difficulty between them and the Indians. Questioning about unimportant things the Papago regard as rather humorous, but queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste. 867 195 [522] 576

3. Population data from United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona*; see also chaps. v and vii below.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28



576 queries about their personal affairs seem to them extremely bad taste. The Papago like privacy and respect the same desire for it in others.

157 Despite their quiet and controlled behavior, there is nothing somber or
521 morose about the Desert People nor do they lack interest in what goes on around them. They are extremely observant and curious about details. With their friends they gossip constantly, but to be vindictive or to show off is not regarded with approval.

609 Though the reserve with which Papago greet a white stranger is often called
522 "stolid" by people who do not know them, facial expressions are pleasant. Among themselves they laugh at the endless joking that goes on among family members, over a comic incident, a child's improper behavior, a misstatement, or their own embarrassment. They love to sing, and, in any Papago group, smiles and laughter are constant accents to conversation.

431 Gifts serve as acknowledgment among the Desert People for their language has no phrase for "thank you"; too, they give because they like giving, and the person who does not is thought to be not quite Papago.

## THE DESERT

133 It is no wonder that the Papago were not pushed off their land as were many other Indians. This area is one of the hottest and driest in the country, a land in which, with experience and hard work, a family can make a living; but it offers little in the way of surplus.

The Papago country, often referred to by its Spanish name of Papaguería, is a part of what natural scientists call the Lower Sonoran Desert, an area extending north and east to the Mongollon Rim in Arizona, westward into southeastern California, and southward along the western coast of Sonora and Sinaloa in Mexico. It is characterized by a basin and range topography, extreme drought and torrential rainfall, and great changes in daily and seasonal temperatures. A series of small ranges of rugged mountains run roughly northwest to southeast, with wide alluvial valleys marked by networks of washes or arroyos.[4] Elevation of valley floors varies from 1,400 to 2,600 feet, but the mountains on the whole are not high enough to affect rainfall except for the Baboquivaris on the eastern edge, where the tallest peak reaches 7,740 feet and seems to keep all the surrounding desert under its eye.

132 Rainfall in Papaguería is not only scarce but unpredictable. Rains come in the winter months and again from July through September. The gentle winter rains fall steadily over the whole area, sometimes for several days at a time,

4. A wash or arroyo is a stream channel which carries water only after the rains. Water rushing down the wash rapidly covers adjacent lands in what are known as flash floods.

## THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.[11] The several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation.

The old people say that, when I'itoi created men, he called the first one a Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking.

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one.

### MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow.

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. The men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs.

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly the young adults, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28



younger. Those who are musicians often bring their instruments to school; other lads join them in the desert away from the schoolhouse, where they sometimes practice for hours before an enthusiastic audience. Boys may gather around the bus-driver or teacher and spend the recreational hour watching the former repair a bus or pump. (The Papago are interested in machines and make good mechanics, but the schools offer no course in machine operation or maintenance, probably because too few older boys attend day school.) 883 872

Teen-age girls at school tend to pair off as they do at home. Two friends sit together on the school bus, ask to do kitchen duties at the same time, and spend their free time walking arm in arm about the playground or using the swings and teeter-totters, which they greatly enjoy. During recreation hours they do not spend as much time as the little girls with the teacher or Papago cook. Hickiwan girls may often be seen at noon primping before the mirror, recombing their hair or renewing makeup. Nearly all the girls try to present a nice appearance; they wear good dresses to school and groom themselves to the best of their ability.

Adolescents are much less spontaneous and friendly with the teacher than younger children. The boys respond rather freely to the male teachers at the Hickiwan and Gu Vo schools and occasionally talk with them about the war and the difficulties of staying in school when there is work to be done at home. Girls giggle in the presence of men teachers and never start a conversation. Neither boys nor girls are afraid of them, nor are they particularly concerned about their reactions to badly prepared lessons. Older students often try various tricks to get out of assignments and regard it as a huge joke if they are caught in the evasion. In the eastern districts the Papago parents' higher regard for schooling is reflected in their children's more serious attitude toward teachers and lessons. [522]

With the women teachers at Hickiwan or Gu Vo the older boys are respectful and reserved. They readily perform any task she asks of them and answer her questions courteously, but they seldom start conversations with her. The girls are painfully shy and giggle in the teacher's presence at first, but they overcome their timidity enough to linger in the schoolroom occasionally and join in conversations and to refrain from dodging when the teacher touches them. Even so, they never attain the little girl's freedom with her. If something she says amuses them, they respond not to her but to one another; their appreciative glances and smiles are directed toward the other girls and do not include the teacher.

Teaching methods and inter-Papago relationships at Hickiwan and Gu Vo schools, described here, are similar to those of the other government schools.



[Text continues on p. 159-Analyst]

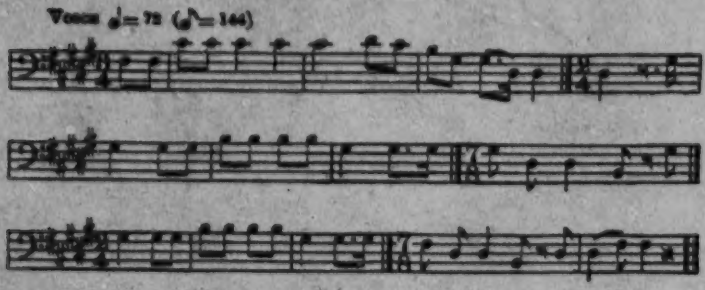
6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28



X 533 The song next following is somewhat humorous in character and is 522 one of the few songs recorded by a woman.

No. 168. "I Met a Mexican" (Catalogue No. 1070)

Recorded by JUANA MARIA




TRANSLATION

While I was running I met a Mexican who said,
"How do you do?"
While I was running I met a Mexican with a long beard who said,
"How do you do?"

X 533 *Analysis.*—This song is humorous in character and the question expressed in the words is reflected in the two final ascending intervals. No difference was found in the repetitions of the song, the 7–8 measures being given in exact time. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale. The song opens with a fifth (F sharp-C sharp) in ascending progression, followed by a descending fifth (F sharp-B), the latter occurring in descending and then in ascending progression at the close of the song. An unusual variety of intervals occurs in this melody.

[522] The humor of the following song would appeal to adults more than to children. It was said to be "sung for fun." (Cf. the tiswin custom, p. 152.)

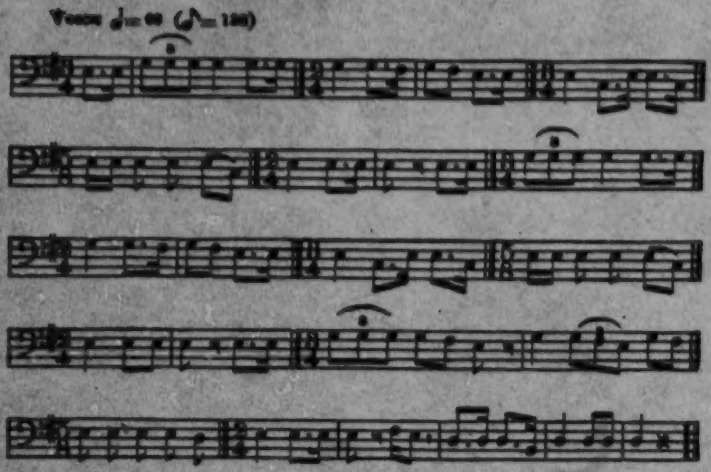
6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28



533X
522

No. 157. "The Pigeon and His Tiswin Lodge"
(Catalogue No. 1084)

Recorded by Jose Hendricks




TRANSLATION

The pigeon pretended that he was setting up a tiswin lodge. The frog doctor drank his wine, got drunk and shouted, and pulled out his cloud.

*Analysis.*—The intervals in this song are major and minor thirds and major and minor seconds, the first named being the most frequent. There is a taunting, teasing effect in the melody which is also humorous in character. The song is major in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the second. 533X

FLUTE MELODY 1

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

walls about eight feet in height, had an entrance in the centre of the east side, and was oriented so that the sides lay NxS, ExW, respectively. This enclosure was about 30' along each side. Directly west of this and probably fifty feet away was a lean-to open to the east and west, measuring perhaps 12' across the entrance, and 10' deep. Between this and the enclosure was the dance ground proper, about which the chorus marched in a circle about 30' in diameter, as described below. 796 417 [343]

In front of the entrance to the enclosure, distant 30' or so, was a great pile of mesquite logs. About three P.M. small groups of gaily dressed women and girls, one group from the Anegam villagers and one from the old Santa Rosa, ran to the pile of wood. Each woman took up a piece and ran to the enclosure and left it, running out and making a complete circuit of the enclosure before running off the dance ground to her own people. This was done to the accompaniment of much laughter and gaiety among the crowds of women and spectators. Later, just before four P.M., and the beginning of the dance, after the new Santa Rosa dancers had arrived, this was repeated. 796

Meanwhile, many wagons had arrived, ranging in a great crescent about the west side of the dance ground, with the lean-to as center. School busses full of children from Sells Day Schools drove up, and several truck and trailer loads of Papago cotton pickers, brought in by white men from the direction of Casa Grande. [493]

At four P.M. the new Santa Rosa dancers and chorus, who had arrived shortly before, drew up in front of the enclosure, where they were joined by the local dancers and chorus. The Anegam group moved up to within 30 yards or so and halted. A crowd of men, mostly young men and a few boys, assembled, all with bull roarers, and raised a tremendous noise. The combined groups of dancers then trotted and ran around the enclosure several times, accompanied by the wielders of the bull roarers as well as by men and boys who ran alongside, laughing and shouting. The dancers clowned all through this, shaking their bells and cutting up in comical fashion. [522]

The choruses of the two groups dashed inside the enclosure, without running around it, carrying their equipment, and remained inside. The Anegam group joined in after the others had made several circuits, the chorus going directly inside the enclosure.

Then, the choruses inside, the dancers outside, singing began within. It seemed the choruses remained separate inside the enclosure, one in the SE quarter, one in the NE, and one in the NW quadrant. These choruses sang the same song as that sung at Anegam, but not in unison, each chorus singing independently of the others. The masked dancers outside stationed themselves in groups, one outside each corner within which a chorus was singing, and kept time, shuffling and stamping and jumping, to the chorus opposite which they were stationed. Dancers [533] 796 534

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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535 through a low doorway. Other dancers, by twos and threes, did the same, while the dancers already on the floor postured and clowned and apparently made fun of the newcomers. When most or all of the dancers had brought in their gourds and set them up, the whole group ran around to the front of the enclosure and halted for a moment. Then the group again ran to the dance floor, one man carrying an effigy of a deer, made by stretch-
[532] ing a small deer hide over a stick framework, with antlers tied to its head.

This the bearer set on the gourd just south of the circle, and the dancers stalked and killed it with lances. This was accomplished with the most grotesque pantomiming, the dancers creeping up on the deer and spearing it. The crowd of spectators enjoyed this tremendously, cheering on the hunters and offering advice. Meanwhile the high gusty wind kept blowing the gourds over and rolling them on the ground, so that the dancers had to chase them and put them back in place. A little yellow puppy, very much excited by the uproar, dashed into the milling
[522] dancers, barking and chasing them. The dancers turned on the pup and pretended to hunt it, finally chasing it off, brandishing their weapons and leaping into the air. This also was much enjoyed by the onlookers.

After the deer had been dispatched, it was skinned and divided, still in pantomime. Then the dancers gathered in a great circle, tangent to the east side of the circle inscribed on the ground, and sat down. The ensuing few moments were apparently spent swapping lies about their
[522] hunting exploits, one holding his hands apart to describe the length of his catch. Another took a Bull Durham sack from his pocket and pretended to roll and light a cigarette. Others reached over and took up gourds, only to be stopped and apparently scolded by two men who sat in front of the entrance to the circle of gourds.

Soon, however, the men guarding the gourds turned and on hands and knees took them up and passed them out through the entrance. They were handed about the circle of seated dancers, who removed the stoppers and pretended to drink deep from the vessels.

Now occurred a drunken riot in pantomime, in which the dancers became drunker and drunker, and the action more and more ridiculous. One man imitated a drunk sick to his stomach, with appropriate motions, collapsing on the ground and rolling about, helped up by other drunks who then collapsed with him. Others performed various obscene gestures,
[831] mimicking the discharge of natural functions, and evincing a rather considerable knowledge of various perversions.

One by one the drunken dancers staggered off the dance floor, breaking into a run when outside the ring of spectators, and going to the enclosure. Last out were three, apparently boon companions, who had a most difficult time helping each other off the floor, complicated by the puppy, which dashed about them, yapping and snapping